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POLITICAL ANALYSIS: SOVIET DIALOGUE ON FOREIGN COMMUNISM

1. SOVIET THEORISTS ARE DEBATING MORE SHARPLY THE SUBJECT OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM, JUDGING FROM CONTRADICTIONARY PRESS ARTICLES RECENTLY PUBLISHED IN CONNECTION WITH THE ANNIVERSARY OF A LENIN BOOK ON REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS.

2. THE ARTICLES TAKE AS THEIR COMMON THEME THE RELEVANCE TODAY OF LENIN'S IDEAS FOR NON-RULING COMMUNIST PARTIES. THEY VARY IN TONE FROM MODERATION TO MILITANCY--BUT NONE OF THE AUTHORS GOES SO FAR AS TO URGE THE PROMOTION OF VIOLENT

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SOCIAL UPHEAVAL IN THE WEST AT THIS TIME. THE DIFFERENCE APPEARS TO REFLECT VARYING VIEWS INSIDE THE CPSU ABOUT THE PERMISSIBLE SCOPE OF COOPERATION BETWEEN COMMUNISTS AND

LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN WESTERN EUROPE, ESPECIALLY FRANCE AND ITALY. MOREOVER, IN THE CONTEXT OF THIS DISCUSSION, THE QUESTION OF IF, AND HOW FAR, MOSCOW'S STAKE IN DETENTE AND THE INTERNATIONAL STATUS QUO SHOULD OUTWEIGH ITS PHILOSOPHICAL COMMITMENT TO WORLD REVOLUTION IS A CONTINUING ISSUE

3. APPEARANCE OF THE ARTICLES AT THIS TIME IS PEGGED TO THE LENIN ANNIVERSARY; THEIR THRUST, HOWEVER, IS PROBABLY MOTIVATED BY RECENT EVENTS IN PORTUGAL, FRANCE, AND ITALY, AS WELL AS BY PREPARATIONS FOR THE EUROPEAN CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES. DISCORDANCE IN THE ARTICLES MAY NOT BE SO MUCH A HARBINGER OF CHANGE IN SOVIET DETENTE POLICY AS A REFLECTION OF AN ONGOING REVIEW OF METHODS FOR CONDUCTING THAT POLICY. IN ANY EVENT, THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERSHIP HAS REBUFFED SOVIET ARGUMENTS FOR A LESS PATIENT POLITICAL STRATEGY, WHILE THE FRENCH PARTY TENDS TO BE MORE AMBIGUOUS.

4. COMMON FEATURES: DURING RECENT WEEKS, CPSU PERIODICALS HAVE CARRIED ARTICLES IN HONOR OF THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE APPEARANCE OF LENIN'S "TWO TACTICS OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY IN THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION;" (SEE APPENDED LIST) MOST NOTABLE WAS THAT WRITTEN BY K. ZARODOV, CHIEF EDITOR OF PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, IN PRAVDA, AUGUST 6.

5. ALMOST ALL OF THE ARTICLES WARNED AGAINST DIRECT INCITEMENT TO REVOLUTION:

(A)--PRAVDA HIT AT "THOSE WHO PLAY INTO REACTION,S HANDS BY ADVANCING LEFTWING SLOGANS OF 'IMMEDIATE SOCIALISM'";

(B)--KOMMUNIST UKRAINY (JUNE 25) ATTACKED "LEFTIST-ADVENTUROUS ELEMENTS" WHO AGITATED FOR "'IMMEDIATE' SOCIALIST REVOLUTION," "REJECT THE VERY IDEA OF ANTI-IMPERIALIST BLOCS," AND "PUSH THE MASSES TO UNTIMELY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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ACTIONS";

(C)--KOMMUNIST BELORUSSII (JULY 10), PRAVDA UKRAINY (AUGUST 7), SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA (AUGUST 7), AND KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA (AUGUST 10) CRITICIZED TROTSKY'S DOCTRINE OF "PERMANENT REVOLUTION," OR THE IDEA OF THE PROLETARIAT BEING LED ON TO PRESS IMMEDIATELY FOR SOCIALIST GOALS AS SOON AS THE BOURGEOIS-DEMOCRATIC PHASE OF THE REVOLUTION HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED.

6. A SECOND UNIFYING THEME OF THE ARTICLES WAS THE NEED FOR COMMUNISTS TO ALIGN WITH LIBERAL FORCES IN CONDITIONS

OF POLITICAL DEMOCRACY. QUITE TYPICAL WAS PRAVDA'S LABELING AS "INADMISSIBLE" THE "UNDERESTIMATION OF DEMOCRATIC FORMS OF STRUGGLE" AND ITS WARNING AGAINST "DISREGARDING THE ESSENTIAL TRANSITIONAL STAGES IN THE STRUGGLE." THE STRONGEST ADVOCACY OF A POLICY OF THE POPULAR FRONT, HOWEVER, CAME IN PRAVDA UKRAINY, WHICH INVOKED THE AUTHORITY OF BREZHNEV:

"IN OUR TIME THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES ARE CREATIVELY DEVELOPING AND APPLYING IN PRACTICE LENIN'S IDEAS ON THE ALLIANCE OF ALL REVOLUTIONARY AND DEMOCRATIC FORCES, ON AGREEMENTS WITH OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS WHICH ARE READY TO WAGE ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE. L. I. BREZHNEV HAS SAID THAT, 'WE ARE DISCUSSING THE QUESTION OF JOINT CONDUCT OF ONE OR ANOTHER SPECIFIC POLITICAL UNDERTAKING AS WELL AS THE FORMULATION OF PLANS FOR PROLONGED CO-OPERATION ON A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE BASIS.'"

7. GENERAL AGREEMENT WAS CLEAR, TOO, ABOUT THE DANGER OF COMMUNISTS LOSING THEIR IDENTITIES IN POPULAR FRONTS AND SUCCUMBING TO REFORMIST ILLUSIONS. "DISSOLUTION OF THE PROLETARIAT INTO THE PAN-DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT," STATED KOMMUNIST UKRAINY, "WOULD INFLICT HARM NOT ONLY TO THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM, BUT ALSO THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY AS IT WOULD WEAKEN THE RESISTANCE TO IMPERIALISM." IT ATTACKED "RIGHT REVISIONISTS" WHO BELIEVED IN "SOCIAL PROGRESS WITHOUT POLITICAL REVOLUTION" AND WHO PREACHED "THE POSSIBILITY OF AN EVOLUTIONARY SHIFT FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM THROUGH THE POLITICAL MECHANISM OF BOURGEOIS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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DEMOCRACY." (BUT THE ONLY EXAMPLE CITED WAS THAT OF COMMUNISTS BEING PREVENTED FROM PLAYING A VANGUARD ROLE IN ALLIANCES DIRECTED AGAINST MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS.) IN CONTRAST, PRAVDA'S ADMONITION ON THE SAME SCORE WAS SO EMPHATIC AS TO SUGGEST THAT SOME SOVIET IDEOLOGUES ARE WARNING AGAINST AN OVERLY CAUTIOUS APPRAISAL OF REVOLUTIONARY PROSPECTS AND FAVOR A LESS COMPROMISING LINE THAN THE ONE WITH WHICH BREZHNEV'S REGIME HAS BEEN ASSOCIATED.

8. DISCORDANT MILITANCY: ZARODOV'S ARTICLE IN PRAVDA STRUCK A POLEMICAL AND ORTHODOX NOTE WHICH DISTINGUISHED IT FROM THE SEVEN OTHERS ON THE SUBJECT. IT ALONE

(A)--DECLARED AT THE OUTSET THAT WHAT LENIN DUBBED THE /TASK OF THE DAY" WAS "TO REBUFF THE CONCILIATIONISTS' ARGUMENTS";

(B)--DEMANDED THAT A COMMUNIST PARTY SEEKING POWER NOT ONLY "AVOID DISREGARDING THE ESSENTIAL TRANSITIONAL STAGES IN THE STRUGGLE"... "BUT ALSO AVOID LINGERING TOO LONG

AT THESE STAGES";

(C)--DEBUNKED "STILL FASHIONABLE OPPORTUNIST CONCEPTIONS," EXPLAINING THAT "FOR LENIN AND LENINISTS, RELIANCE ON THE POPULAR MAJORITY HAS ALWAYS BEEN THE PARAMOUNT PRECEPT OF REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY AND TACTICS. BUT FOR THEM THIS MAJORITY IS NOT AN ARITHMETICAL CONCEPT BUT A POLITICAL ONE. IT IS A QUESTION OF A REVOLUTIONARY MAJORITY WHICH EVOLVES NOT ONLY AS THE RESULT OF THE CREATION OF REPRESENTATIVE, ELECTED ORGANS OF POWER BUT ALSO IN THE COURSE OF DIRECT REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS BY THE PEOPLE'S MASSES AND THEIR INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTIVE-NESS, WHICH GOES BEYOND THE EVERYDAY NORMS OF 'PEACEFUL, LIFE ESTABLISHED IN ACCORDANCE WITH BOURGEOIS INSTITUTIONS";

(D)--UPDATED LENIN'S RIDICULE OF THE RUSSIAN MENSHEVIKS FOR STRIVING "TO LIMIT THE PARTY'S REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVENESS BY CALLING FOR 'MODERATION'"; ZARODOV DECLARED THAT, "MODERN CONCILIATORS DO NOT TROUBLE THEMSELVES EVEN VERBALLY ABOUT THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE PROLETARIAN PARTY. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THEY WOULD LIKE TO DISSOLVE IT IN AN IDEOLOGICALLY AMORPHOUS ORGANIZATION OR ANY ALLIANCE SET UP ACCORDING TO THE FORMULA 'UNITY FOR UNITY'S SAKE.' BUT THEIR LOGIC IS THE SAME AS THAT OF THE MENSHEVIKS....THOSE SAME CALLS FOR COMMUNISTS TO BE 'MODERATE,, THAT IS--TRANSLATED INTO CLEAR POLITICAL LANGUAGE--TO TRAIL ALONG AT THE BACK OF THE MOVEMENT AND NOT BE AT ITS HEAD....THE PARTY ..;WANTS, IN THE TESTED PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM, TO LEAD THE POLETARIAT AND NOT MERELY TO DRAG ALONG BEHIND EVENTS."

9. NO SIMILAR CONCERN ABOUT COMMUNISTS LOSING SIGHT OF THE ULTIMATE REVOLUTIONARY GOAL WAS REGISTERED IN THE OTHER RECENT ESSAYS BY SOVIET IDEOLOGUES ON THIS TOPIC; IF ANYTHING, THEY EXPLICITLY REJECTED THE PRESENCE OR LIKELIHOOD OF THIS DANGER. (AN ARTICLE IN VOPROSY FILOSOFII, NO. 5, MAY 1975, BY T. T. TIMOFEYEV SAID "THE PARTICIPATION OF COMMUNISTS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR GENERAL DEMOCRATIC DEMANDS DOES NOT AT ALL MEAN THAT THEY ARE LOSING SIGHT OF THE ULTIMATE GOALS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAT ")

10. FRANCO-ITALIAN RESPONSES: ZARODOV'S RELATIVELY TOUGH TALK SEEMED TO SOME TO BE A QUALIFIED ENDORSEMENT OF THE CURRENT BEHAVIOR OF THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY. AT THE SAME TIME, HE APPEARED TO BE TAKING ISSUE WITH THE STANCE ADOPTED BY THE FRENCH, ITALIAN, AND POSSIBLY SPANISH COMMUNISTS, TO JUDGE FROM HIS FOCUS ON THE DANGERS OF OPPORTUNISM IN A POPULAR FRONT CONTEXT. HIS ARTICLE MAY, THEREFORE, HAVE BEEN DESIGNED TO SET FORTH CLEAR LIMITS TO THE

POPULAR FRONT TACTIC, RATHER THAN TO OPPOSE IT. IN ANY EVENT, FRENCH AND ITALIAN PARTY OFFICIALS REACTED AS IF THAT WERE THEIR INTERPRETATION.

11. PCF SECRETARY GENERAL MARCHAIS IN AN AUGUST 8 PRESS CONFERENCE DOWNPLAYED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ZARODOV PIECE, BUT REITERATED AT LENGTH HIS POSITION THAT THE UNIQUENESS OF THE FRENCH POLITICAL SITUATION NECESSITATES GIVING A NATIONAL CHARACTER TO PCF TACTICS AND THAT THE PCF INTENDS TO USE THE ELECTORAL ROUTE TO ATTAIN POLITICAL DOMINANCE. AT THE SAME TIME, A QUARREL BETWEEN THE FRENCH COMMUNISTS AND SOCIALISTS WAS REVIVED IN EARLY AUGUST WITH THE PUBLICATION OF A SECRET SPEECH MADE BY MARCHAIS THREE YEARS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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AGO. THE SPEECH READ TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE FRENCH PARTY ON JUNE 29, 1972, HELD THAT A DEAL WITH THE SOCIALISTS WOULD BE A SPRINGBOARD FOR MASS ACTION AND THAT APPARENT CONCESSIONS WOULD SIMPLY OPEN THE WAY TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF UNCHANGED COMMUNIST GOALS AMONG THESE WERE FRENCH "DISENGAGEMENT, IF ONLY STEP BY STEP, FROM THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE," "STRUGGLE AGAINST THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY'S MONOPOLIST ORIENTATION," AND "COMPLETE LIQUIDATION" OF FRANCE'S NUCLEAR ARSENAL.

12. THE ITALIAN CP LEADERSHIP HAD FOR SOME TIME ENGAGED IN A RUNNING POLEMIC WITH THE PORTUGUESE CP OVER ITS CAVALIER DISMISSAL OF THE RULES OF WESTERN DEMOCRATIC POLITICS. IN A MAJOR ARTICLE IN THE PARTY DAILY, L'UNITA, ON JULY 29, LUCA PAVOLINI, DIRECTOR OF THE PAPER, ANTICIPATED SOME OF ZARODOV'S ARGUMENTS ONE WEEK BEFORE THEY WERE PUBLISHED AND REBUFFED THEM BY:

(A)--CITING THE CAUTIONARY WORDS OF COSTA GOMES ABOUT NOT PUSHING THE REVOLUTION TOO FAST LEST IT CONFRONT GROWING DOMESTIC AND EXTERNAL OPPOSITION;

(B)--NOTING THAT IT WAS NOT THE COMMUNISTS WHO EMERGED VICTORIOUS FROM THE ELECTION AND DEDUCING FROM THAT OUTCOME THAT THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND HISTORICAL

FRAMEWORK REQUIRED THAT "PORTUGAL'S PROSPECTS MUST BE VIEWED IN THE CONTEXT OF WESTERN EUROPE:....THAT IT IS THEREFORE NECESSARY TO CONSIDER IN THE SAME CONTEXT THE FORMS AND MODES OF POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENT IN THE DIRECTION OF SOCIALISM";

(C)--REJECTING THE NOTION THAT FREEDOM OF SPEECH, ASSEMBLY, AND RELIGION WAS MERELY "TOLERATED" AND NOT AN ESSENTIAL ASPECT OF THE WORKERS' AND SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

13. FURTHERMORE, HE ARGUED THAT THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN A "DEMOCRATIC" AND A "REVOLUTIONARY" PATH AS BEING ON A COLLISION COURSE, UNLESS THEY AGREED, WAS A FALSE ONE; ON THE CONTRARY, AS A SINGLE PROCESS, PARTIES MUST PROVIDE THE FRAME OF REFERENCE IF THE STATE IS NOT TO DISINTEGRATE;
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14. ON AUGUST 12, L,UNITA DOWNPLAYED THE PRAVDA ARTICLE, ASSERTING THAT "IT IS CUSTOMARY IN THE SOVIET UNION TO PUBLISH THESE ARTICLES WHICH ALLOW INTERVENTIONS ON IDEOLOGICAL OR HISTORICAL QUESTIONS." THE PCI DAILY, HOWEVER, INDICATED THAT IT SENSED A CHALLENGE TO THE PARTY'S INDEPENDENCE AND POLICY FROM MOSCOW:

"WE CAN ONLY CONFIRM THAT THE PRESUMPTION OF DICTATING RIGID AND GENERAL RULES IS UNFOUNDED, AND NOT ONLY BECAUSE MONOLITHISM HAS BEEN OVER FOR SOME TIME IN POLITICAL PRACTICE AND IN RELATIONS BETWEEN COMMUNIST PARTIES;;... WE VIEW THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM DIFFERENTLY FROM THE MANNER IN WHICH IT IS DELINEATED IN THE DOCTRINAIRE SCHEME (OF THE ARTICLE PUBLISHED BY PRAVDA AND) THERE ARE NUMEROUS EXPERIENCES OF THE WORKER AND REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT WHICH DO NOT FALL INTO THIS SCHEME;..."

15. ASSESSMENT: ZARODOV'S ARTICLE SEEMS TO REPRESENT A CURRENT OF CPSU OPINION WHICH FEELS THAT THE SOVIET REGIME,S STANCE ON REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS HAS BEEN TOO HEAVILY CONDITIONED BY DETENTE POLICY. IT DEFINES VITAL SOVIET INTEREST ALONG TRADITIONALLY ORTHODOX IDEOLOGICAL LINES AND ARGUES FOR GREATER MILITANCY IN DEALING WITH NON-COMMUNISTS IN CERTAIN SITUATIONS.

16. ZARODOV,S ARGUMENTS SEEM REMINISCENT OF SUSLOV'S TRADITIONALLY MORE INTRANSIGENT ATTITUDE AS SUGGESTED BY

(A)--HIS USE OF PHRASES WHICH HARK BACK TO SUSLOV'S CONDEMNATION OF POLITICAL "TAIL-END-ISM" (KHOVOSTIZM) IN A DECEMBER 1971 SPEECH; AND

(B)--THE PARALLEL BETWEEN ZARODOV'S CAUTIONARY NOTE ABOUT COOPERATION WITH LIBERAL ELEMENTS AND SUSLOV'S MESSAGE TO THE 20TH PCF CONGRESS (1972), IN WHICH SUSLOV CAREFULLY TOOK NO POSITION ON THE JOINT ACTION PROGRAM OF COMMUNISTS AND SOCIALISTS: "WHILE FIGHTING FOR DEMOCRACY AND SATISFACTION OF THE WORKERS' ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REQUIREMENTS, COMMUNISTS NEVER FORGET THE
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FINAL GOALS OF THEIR STRUGGLE--LIQUIDATION OF CAPITALISM, ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW AND JUST SOCIALIST SYSTEM. .;WE HAVE WITH INTEREST FAMILIARIZED OURSELVES WITH HOW YOUR PARTY COMBINES THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY OF ACTIONS WITH PRINCIPLED CLASS POSITIONS, WITH DEFENSE OF THE GREAT TEACHING OF MARXISM-LENINISM."

17 WHILE ZARODOV, THEREFORE, WARNS OF EXCESSIVE MODERATION AND REMINDS HIS READERS OF THE NEED FOR TIMELY AND FORCEFUL REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS, HIS ARGUMENTS DO NOT NECESSARILY PORTEND A SHIFT IN SOVIET DETENTE POLICY. HIS ARTICLE WAS SPECIFIC ENOUGH, HOWEVER, TO IMPLY CONTINUED QUESTIONING OF THE STYLE AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE REGIME'S DETENTE POLICY. END TEXT

BEGIN APPENDIX

DATE, SOURCE, ARTICLE, AND AUTHORS

JUNE 25, 1975: KOMMUNIST UKRAINY (KIEV), NO. 7. "V. I. LENIN ON FUSION OF THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM." BY A. F. VOVCHIK (HEAD, CPSU HISTORY CHAIR, KIEV INSTITUTE OF CIVIL AVIATION ENGINEERS).

JUNE 26, 1975: KOMMUNIST SOVETSKOY LATVII (RIGA), NO. 7. "THEORETICAL BASIS OF PARTY STRATEGY." BY I. APINE (DOCTOR OF HISTORICAL SCIENCE).

JULY 10, 1975: KOMMUNIST BELORUSSII (MINSK), NO. 7. "SCIENTIFIC BASES OF PROLETARIAN STRATEGY AND TACTICS." BY A. KAKHNOVICH AND S. YAKOVLEV (BACHELORS OF HISTORICAL SCIENCE).

AUGUST 6, 1975: PRAVDA (MOSCOW). "LENINIST STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE." BY K. ZARODOV (DOCTOR OF HISTORICAL SCIENCE; CHIEF EDITOR, PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM).

AUGUST 7, 1975: PRAVDA UKRAINY (KIEV). "LENINIST SCIENCE OF REVOLUTION." BY G. KIKALOV (BACHELOR OF HISTORICAL SCIENCE, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR).

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AUGUST 7, 1975: SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA (MINSK). "OUTSTANDING CREATION OF LENINIST THOUGHT." BY G. ALDAKUSHIN AND N. VOROBAY (BACHELORS OF HISTORICAL SCIENCE).

AUGUST 7, 1975: SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA (RIGA). "GREAT CONTRIBUTION TO TREASURY OF MARXISM." BY YA. PREDELE

(ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, BACHELOR OF HISTORICAL SCIENCE).

AUGUST 10, 1975: KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA (DUSHANBE).

"V. I. LENIN AND THE FIRST RUSSIAN REVOLUTION." BY
I. ALUF (BACHELOR OF HISTORICAL SCIENCE; FOR "NOVOSTI"
NEWS AGENCY).

END APPENDIX. KISSINGER

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